Another archaic linguistic feature in Hittite

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It is widely recognized that strikingly archaic linguistic features are preserved in Hittite[1]. Retention of archaism is most remarkable in phonology, where the discovery of laryngeals opened a way to the solution of many problems. The significance of Hittite for the study of Indo-European morphology seems less dramatic and in fact there still remain many issues which reject a consensus among scholars. One grammatical category in Hittite where no objection is raised to its antiquity is mediopassive verbs. The primary mediopassive endings from selected ancient IE languages are shown below.

	PIE	Vedic	Greek (Arc.-Cyp.)	Old Irish	Hittite
sg. 1	*-h_2er	-e	-μαι	-ur	-ḫa(ḫa)(ri)
2	*-th_2er	-se	-σοι	-ther	-ta(ri)
3	*-or, *-tor	-e, -te	-τοι	-thir (passive -air)	-a(ri), -ta(ri)

In extra-Hittite languages represented by Vedic, Greek and Old Irish the original mediopassive endings per se were more or less remade under the influence of the corresponding athematic active endings, 1 sg. *-mi, 2 sg. *-si and 3 sg. *-ti. On the other hand, Hittite preserves essential features of the original mediopassive endings, *-h_2er, *-th_2er, *-or and *-tor.

In the 3 sg., two endings, *-o and *-to, are generally reconstructed. The ending *-o is more archaic than *-to. In the majority of daughter languages the innovative *-to spread to a large extent. However, unmistakable traces of *-o are found in Anatolian, Indic and Old Irish as observed in the above table. In Hittite a significant number of mediopassives still belong to the a-class as represented by eša "sits", kiša "becomes", etc. Vedic also has a significant number of 3 sg. mediopassives in -e which is a descendant of PIE *-o plus deictic particle *-i. The original ending *-o is probably also retained in Old Irish passives in absolute -air and conjunct -ar.

A number of scholars suggested a 'stative' category for the archaic ending *-o, which, according to them, shows a functional difference from the non-stative ending *-to[2]. This suggestion is not very easy to accept because many Hittite a-class mediopassive verbs such as ḫattari "strikes", paršija "breaks" and ḫalzija "calls" are unambiguously telic, and not stative in any ordinary sense of the term.

The two endings, *-o and *-to, are generally assumed to have existed at the Proto-Indo-European stage. For example, Watkins (1969: 84) states that "Das Heth. Material ... zeigt, daß beide Endungen (= -a and -ta [KY]) von der gemeinsamen Ursprache ererbt sein müssen; die Verdrängung von *-o (heth. -a) durch *-to (heth. -ta) war nur eine teilweise

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[1] This paper was orally presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology. Because of the limited time available for oral presentation I could not show full evidence for my claim. Readers interested in more details should refer to another paper of mine that will appear in a forthcoming Festschrift.

[2] This position is most explicit in Oettinger (1976, 1993), Rix (1977), Kortlandt (1979), Kümmel (1996) and Gotō (1997), among others.

und die älteren und jüngeren Formen bestanden nebeneinander innerhalb des gleichen Systems sowohl vor wie nach der Trennung der idg. Einzelsprachen weiter". The view that the morphological change from *-o to *-to goes back to Proto-Indo-European seems perfectly straightforward at first glance because the innovative *-to is observed everywhere in the daughter languages. However, there are pieces of evidence in Hittite that throw doubt on this view as far as the primary, that is, non-derived mediopassives are concerned.

Watkins (1969: 85f.) pointed out two types of morphological changes that occurred to the basic 3 sg. mediopassive ending -a in Hittite. One is the replacement -a to -ta, that is, PIE *-o to *-to and the other is -a to -atta. The second renewal is additive: the original ending -a came to be doubly characterized by the addition of the newly created -ta. As is correctly pointed by Watkins, it is important to note that the second morphological change presupposes the prior existence of the first morphological change, i.e., -a to -ta. The following three examples are adduced by Watkins as illustrating the substitution of -ta for -a.

kīịa (< *ḱei̯-o) → kitta(ri) (< *ḱei̯-to) "lies"
eša, ešari "sits" → eštari
tuḫša, tuḫš[a]ri (OH) "cuts off" → tuḫḫušta (OH+)

However, the first two examples should be interpreted differently. *kīịa* should be taken as a pronoun *kī* plus an enclitic particle *-ịa*[3] and *eštari* is used as the 2 sg., not as the 3 sg. The third example is a good case for the pattern of the replacement. Note that *t*-less *tuḫša* and *tuḫš[a]ri* are attested in Old Hittite original manuscripts, whereas *tuḫḫušta* with *-ta* is attested in a Middle Hittite copy of an Old Hittite text.

The examples that Watkins cites as the second morphological change, -a to -atta, are shown below.

ḫuittiịa(ti) (OH, Anitta) "pulled" → ḫuittiịatta(t) (NH, Hattušiliš III)
ḫāliịa, ḫāliịari (OH++) "kneels down" → ḫaliịattat (NH)
laḫuu̯āri (OH++) "pours" → la-ḫu-u̯a-ta-ri KUB XIII 8, 8 (jh)[4]
ḫalziịa (OH) "calls" → ḫalziịatari (OH++)

In the first example, a *t*-less *ḫuittiịa(ti)* attested in an Old Hittite original manuscript of

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[3] It is to be noted that the transformation *ḱei̯-o → *ḱei̯-to is in fact observed in Lycian *sijeni* and *sitẽni*.

[4] A note should be given to *la-ḫu-u̯a-ta-ri* right to the arrow. According to the on-line concordance of Hittite texts maintained by Silvin Košak in Mainz, the manuscript which includes this form is Neo-Hittite abbreviated as jh. This on-line concordance is very useful in many respects, but it gives us information only on dates of manuscripts (ah, mh, jh), not on dates of texts. In this paper dates of texts are also given when possible. In any event the third sign of this form looks very strange. It looks like *u̯a*, but it seems to have two horizontals in a right part of the sign. Friedrich (1991:125) transcribes this form as *laḫuu̯atari* with a question mark. Puhvel (2001:18) argues that it is *la-ḫu-ut-ta-ri*, not *la-ḫu-u̯a-ta-ri* without any further comments. Güterbock and Hoffner (1980:13) read it *la-ḫu-ut[?]-ta-ri* with a question mark on *ut*. In my judgment *la-ḫu-ut-ta-ri* would be more likely because this reading is consistent with its corresponding preterite *laḫuttat* and also *la-a-ḫu-ut-ta-ri* (2×, NH) cited from an unpublished tablet (829/z) by Puhvel. If it is *la-ḫu-ut-ta-ri*, it will turn out that this example reflects the morphological change -a to -ta, not -a to -atta.

Anitta text is replaced by *ḫuittiẏatta(t)* with *-ta*, which is attested in a Neo-Hittite historical text of Hattušiliš III. The other three examples show the same pattern.

In addition to the above examples there are many more examples showing these two types of morphological changes[5]. The following list includes additional examples of *-a* to *-ta*.

> *šuppiẏaḫḫati* (OH) "cleaned" → *šuppiẏaḫtari* (mh)
> *paḫšari* (MH) "protects" → *paḫḫaštat* (NH)
> *šiuniẏaḫḫati* (OH+) "was smitten (with disease)" → *šiuniẏaḫta* (OH++)
> *šuppari* (date?) "sleeps" → *šu-up-ta'-ri* (sjh)
> *karša* (jh) "cuts" → *karaštari* (OH++)
> ﹨*ẏaššāri* (jh) "is favorable" → *ẏaštari* (jh)

In the first example *šuppiẏaḫḫati* with *-a* in an Old Hittite original manuscript was replaced by *šuppiẏaḫtari* with *-ta* in Middle Hittite manuscript. Likewise, in the second example *paḫšari* with *-a* in a Middle Hittite was transformed to *paḫḫaštat* with *-ta* in a Neo-Hittite historical text. In the third example *šiuniẏaḫḫati* with *-a* in a Middle Hittite copy of an Old Hittite text contrasts with *šiuniẏaḫta* with *-ta* in a Neo-Hittite copy of an Old Hittite text. In the fourth example, *šuppari*, the date of which cannot be determined, has *-a* in contrast to *šu-up-ta'-ri*, where *ša* sign is actually used in place of *ta* sign. It must be a scribal error because *ša* sign and *ta* sign are very similar. This *šu-up-ta'-ri* is recorded in a late Neo-Hittite manuscript according to the website by Silvin Košak. As for the pairs *karša* vs. *karaštari* and ﹨*ẏaššāri* with Glossenkeil vs. *ẏaštari*, all the examples are attested in Neo-Hittite manuscripts. But the examples with *-ta* must be secondary.

Additional examples that illustrate the morphological change, *-a* to *-atta*, are shown below.

> *iškallāri* (OH+) "tears up" → *iškallatta* (MH+)
> *ḫannari* (OH++, MH) "decides", *ḫannat* (OH+) → *ḫannatat* (date?)
> *nēari* (OH++) "turns", *nēat* (MH), *nēẏa* (MH), *neẏat* (OH++, MH+) → *neẏattat*
>   (OH++), etc.
> LUGAL-*izziat* (NH) "reigned as a king" → LUGAL-*izziẏatta* (jh)[6]

In the first example *iškallāri* with *-a* attested in a Middle Hittite copy of an Old Hittite text is replaced by *iškallatta* with *-atta* in a Neo-Hittite copy of a Middle Hittite text. The same *-a* to *-atta* transformation is also observed in the remaining three examples. Although the date of *ḫannatat* cannot be determined, it must be a late form because of its final apocopated *-t*, not *-ti*.

There are ambiguous examples, too. The following examples cannot be easily classified as illustrating either *-a* to *-ta* or *-a* to *-atta* transformation:

> *a[rg]a* (MH+) "mounts" → *arkatta* (OH+)
> *ḫinga* (OH) "bows" → *ḫinkatta* (OH++)
> *paršiẏa* (OH) "breaks" → *paršittari* (MH+)

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[5] The following examples are mainly from Neu (1968) and Yoshida (1990).
[6] Besides LUGAL-*izziẏatta* (jh) there is LUGAL-*uizzittat* (MH+), which is probably a syncopated form from the former.

ši̯āri (OH++) "squeezes" → *ši̯ēttari* (jh)
lagāri (OH++, MH) "bends" → *lagāittari* (jh)

As for the first two examples, *a[rg]a* vs. *arkatta* and *ḫinga* vs. *ḫinkatta*, there is no way to judge whether *a* before the ending *-tta* is real or orthographic because in both cases the verb stems end in consonant clusters. They will turn out to be examples of the transformation *-a* to *-atta* if *a* before *-tta* is real, but examples of *-a* to *-tta* if it is orthographic. The third example *parši̯ttari* is puzzling. *parši̯a* must be a derived thematic present in *-i̯e/o-*, which in general shows only the ending *-ta(ri)*, not *-a(ri)*. Contrary to this predilection, the extended form is *parši̯ari*, not *parši̯attari*. The actually attested form with *t* is the hapax *parši̯ttari*, which was probably produced from expected but unattested *parši̯attari* by syncope[7]. The fourth example *ši̯ēttari* is irregular in having *e*, not *a*, before the ending. It is probably due to the corresponding active *ši̯ezzi*. The fifth example *lagāittari* is also unique in having *āi* before the ending. This contaminated form must have been created by attaching the mediopassive ending *-ttari* to 3 sg. *ḫi*-verb **lākai*, which is unattested but theoretically expected from *lāki* in a parallel way that *mallai* "grinds" is secondarily created from *malli*; cf. Jasanoff (2003: 65).

As I have demonstrated above, there are a large number of examples that illustrate the transformations, *-a* to *-ta* and *-a* to *-atta*. These examples clearly show that these two morphological changes were still operating in the historical period of Hittite.

Next let us take a closer look at examples with *-atta*. We have already seen above that mediopassives with *-atta* are late forms remodeled from their original forms with *-a*. In fact there was so far no example with *-atta* attested in an Old Hittite original manuscript.

How about other mediopassives marked by *-atta* from the very beginning of their attestation?

ḫarra- "crush": *ḫarrattari* (MH, jh), pret. *ḫarratta* (mh) (< *$h_2$érh$_3$-o-*; cf. Melchert 1994: 79)

šarra- "break": *šarratta* (jh), *šarrattat* (mh) (< *serh$_2$-o-*)

tarra- "be able, can": pres. *tarratta* (OH+, mh), *tarrattat* (NH) (< *térh$_2$-o-*; cf. Melchert 1994: 79)

zinna- "end, finish": *zinnattari* (OH++), *zinnat[t]at* (jh) (< *si-n-h$_1$-o-*; cf. Melchert 1994: 80)

šanna- "conceal": *šannatta* (MH+) (< *senh$_2$-o-*)

arra- "wash oneself": pret. *arratat* (jh) (< *h$_1$erH-o-*; cf. Jasanoff 2003: 78)

parḫ- "rush, drive, chase": *parḫattari* (MH) (← *parra-* < *bherh$_2$-o-*), cf. *paraḫzi*

ḫu̯ai-/ḫu̯i̯a- "run": *ḫūi̯atta* (jh) (< *h$_2$uh$_1$i̯-o-*; cf. Melchert 1984: 46)

ep- "seize": *eppattat* (jh); cf. *epzi*

pippa- "turn over": *pippattari* (OH++) (< *pí-pH-or*; cf. Jasanoff 2003: 131)

u̯eḫ- "turn": *u̯eḫatta* (OH++, MH+), *u̯eḫattat* (OH++, MH+) (cf. *u̯ēḫtari* OH++)

šu̯ai- "fill": *šu̯attari* (MH+), *šu̯attat* (jh) (cf. *šuttati* jh)

taḫš- "be allotted, be destinated": *taḫšattari* (jh)

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[7] This analysis is due to a suggestion from Craig Melchert (personal communication). As we saw above, syncope is also observed in LUGAL-*uizzittat* which must have been created from LUGAL-*izzi̯atta*.

It is interesting that the first six examples of the above list show a stem final laryngeal preceded by a sonorant, which regularly becomes geminated sonorants between vowels. They are *ḫarrattari*, *šarratta*, *tarratta*, *zinnattari*, *šannatta* and *arratat*. The seventh example *parḫattari* must have been secondarily created under the influence of the corresponding active 3 sg. *paraḫzi* and *parḫazi*. *parḫattari* probably replaced phonologically regular **parrattari*. As for the following *ḫūi̯atta*, *a* before the ending *-ta* must be real because *i̯* is actually written. The same is probably true of *eppattat* and *pippattari*. They could be spelled **eptat* and **piptat*, respectively, but there are no such examples. As for *u̯eḫatta* and *šuu̯attari*, they must have been remodeled from *u̯ēḫtari* and *šuttati*, respectively. In the case of the last example *taḫšattari*, however, there is no way to tell whether *a* before the ending *-ta* is real or not because this verb has a stem final consonant cluster. It is important to note that none of these examples with *-atta* are again recorded in Old Hittite original manuscripts.

Among *ta*-class mediopassives with *-ta* there are five verbs which superficially seem to have an *atta*-ending.

> *ḫulla-* "combat": *ḫulattati* (OH++), *ḫullattat* (sjh) < *$h_{2/3}ul$-ne-h_1- (cf. Melchert 1994:
> 55)
> *luk(k)-* "dawn, get light": *lukkatta* < *-é̯i̯e/o-* (cf. Melchert 1984: 16)
> *tarna-* "let, leave": *tarnattari* < *$tr̥$ (K)neh₂-* (cf. Melchert 1994: 167)
> *du̯arnai-* "break, tear to pieces": *du̯arnattari* < *dhu̯enne-i̯e/o-* (cf. Melchert 1984:
> 36)
> *i̯a-* "march": *i̯atta*, but *iētta* (OH) < *h_1i-é-to or *$h_1ei̯$-to.

From the first four stems are created mediopassives *ḫul(l)attat(i)*, *lukkatta*, *tarnattari* and *du̯arnattari*, all of which seem to be characterized by *-atta*. But *a* before the ending *-ta* is a part of the stem, and therefore they belong to the *ta*-class, not the *atta*-class. The prevalent form of the fifth stem *i̯a-* is *i̯atta*, but *i̯atta* is late. Old Hittite has *iētta*, which Melchert (1984: 19) derived from a thematized *h_1i-é-to following Watkins (1969: 199). It would also be possible to derive it from the preform *$h_1ei̯$-to with initial yod analogically transferred from 3 pl. *iēnta*.

We have already seen a considerable number of examples which underwent the morphological changes, *-a* to *-ta* or *-a* to *-atta* in the internal Hittite history. It is, however, very doubtful that they completely shifted to *ta*- or *atta*-class from the original *a*-class in later Hittite. A great majority of the examples preserve their old character as *a*-class in their imperative forms, as is illustrated in the following examples[8].

> *eša, ešari* → *eštat*, but imper. *ešaru*
> *tuḫša, tuḫš[a]ri* → *tuḫḫušta*, but imper. *tuḫšaru*
> *laḫuu̯āri* → *laḫuttari*, but imper. *laḫūu̯aru*
> ˋ*u̯aššāri*→ *u̯aštari*, but imper. *u̯aššāru*
> *paḫšari* → *paḫḫaštat*, but imper. *paḫšaru*
> *ḫannari, ḫannat* → *ḫannatat*, but imper. *ḫannar[u]*
> *nēari, nēat, nēi̯a, nei̯at* → *neattat, nei̯attat*, but imper. *nei̯aru*
> *a[rg]a* → *arkatta*, but imper. *argaru*
> *lagāri* → *lagāittari*, but imper. *lagāru*
> *karša* → *karaštari*, but imper. *karaššaru, karaštaru*

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[8] Needless to say, the list excludes the cases where imperative forms are not recorded.

parši̯a → *paršittari*, but imper. *paršittaru, parši̯addaru*

Although remodeling occurred in 3 sg. indicative forms, their corresponging 3 sg. imperatives are still *a*-class but for the last two examples. Interesting enough, two *ta*-class mediopassive verbs, *ḫap-* "join" (3 sg. *ḫapdari, ḫaptat*) and *au(š)-* "see" (3 sg. *u̯aittari, u̯aittat, auštat*), have only *a*-class imperatives *ḫapparu* and *u̯aru*, respectively.

Of enormous importance in determining the date when **-o* was replaced by **-to* are the examples as follows[9].

pres. *paḫšari* vs. pret. **paḫḫaštat** (cf. imper. *paḫšaru*)
pres. *eša(ri)* vs. pret. *ešati, ešadi, ešat ~ **eštat**, **ēštat**, **ēššat*** (sic!) (cf. imper. *ešaru*)
pres. *tuḫšari ~ **tuḫḫušta*** vs. pret. ***tuḫḫuštati**, **tuḫḫuštat*** (cf. imper. *tuḫšaru*)
pres. *laḫu̯āri ~ **laḫuttari*** (or ***laḫu̯atari**?*) vs. pret. ***laḫuttat*** (cf. imper. *laḫū̯aru*)

In the first example the present form *paḫšari* retains original *-a*, whereas the preterite *paḫḫaštat* is remodeled to *ta*-class. In the second example the present form is exclusively *eša* or *ešari* with original *-a*, but the preterite has *eštat* or *ēštat* with remodeling as well as older *ešati, ešadi* and *ešat*. In the third example the preterite forms are consistently characterized by *-ta*. Because *tuḫḫuštati* has the unapocopated particle *-ti* which is characteristic of Old Hittite, the replacement of *-ta* for *-a* in the preterite must have been earlier than the same replacement in the present, where both *tuḫšari* with *-a* and *tuḫḫušta* with *-ta* are attested. The fourth example has original *a*-class *laḫu̯āri* as well as innovative *laḫuttari* in the present, but the preterite has only *laḫuttat* with *-ta*.

Also crucial are the following examples, which show the pattern of present in *-a(ri)* vs. preterite in *-attat*.

pres. *ḫannari* vs. pret. *ḫannat ~ **ḫannatat*** (cf. imper. *ḫannar[u]*)
pres. *nei̯a(ri), nēari* vs. pret. *nei̯at ~ **nei̯attat**, **neattat*** (cf. imper. *nei̯aru, nei̯āru*)
pres. *ḫuittii̯ari* vs. pret. *ḫuittii̯ati ~ **ḫuittii̯attat*** (cf. imper. *ḫuittii̯aru*)
pres. *ḫāli̯a(ri)* vs. pret. ***ḫali̯attat***
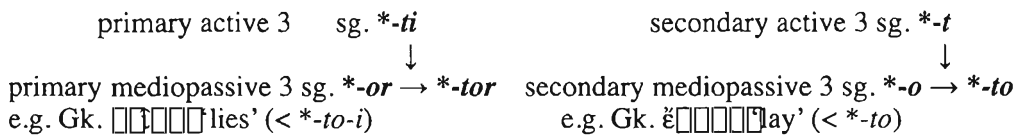pres. *iškallāri* vs. pret. ***iškallatta***

All the examples of the present preserve original *-a*, as illustrated by *ḫannari, nei̯a(ri), nēari, ḫuittii̯ari, ḫāli̯a(ri)* and *iškallāri*. In the preterite, on the other hand, there are remodeled forms with *-atta* such as *ḫannatat, nei̯attat, neattat, ḫuittii̯attat, ḫali̯attat* and *iškallatta*.

Let us summarize our results obtained from the survey of Hittite internal facts.   i) Two morphological changes, *-a* → *-ta* and *-a* → *-atta* were still in progress in the historical period of Hittite. ii) Mediopassives with *-atta* are characteristic of later Hittite. None of the examples are attested in Old Hittite original manuscripts. iii) A great majority of remodeled mediopassives with *-ta* and *-atta* still preserve their original *a*-class status in imperative forms. Furthermore, there are some cases where even *ta*-class mediopassives have imperatives in *-aru*.   iv) There are many pairs which show the patterns, pres. in *-a(ri)* vs. pret. in *-tat(i)* and pres. in *-a(ri)* vs. pret. in *-attat*.
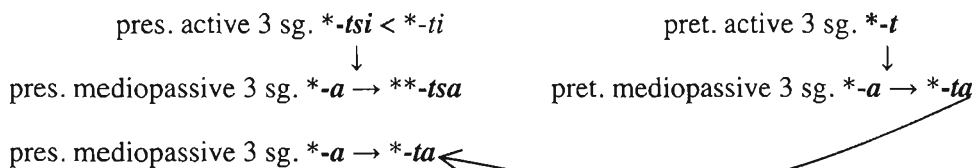
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[9] The forms with *-ta* and *-atta* in the following lists are marked in bold face for the convenience of clarity.

These findings are now open to historical interpretation. At the outset of this paper I showed the paradigm of the mediopassive endings reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, where both *-o* and *-to* are included as the 3 sg. endings. At this point we may wonder when Proto-Indo-European was spoken. Watkins (1998: 26) refers it to "seven thousand years ago", that is, 5000 BC. As we saw above, the morphological changes -a → -ta was still operating in the Hittite historical period. The reconstruction of *-to* for Proto-Indo-European would inevitably lead us to assume that the speed of this morphological change was exceptionally slow. It would turn out that the change was in progress for more than 3,500 years. Because such a situation is simply unconceivable, the ending *-to* cannot have been created at the Proto-Indo-European stage. This view is supported by two facts presented above. The ending -atta, which is addition of -ta to the original -a, presupposes the prior existence of -ta. The complete lack of -atta in Old Hittite original manuscripts shows that the creation of -ta does not go back to a very early period. The preservation of original *-a* in the imperative will be a further confirmation of this view[10].

If I am on the right track in assuming that neither *-to* nor *-oto* does not go back to the common period, the next question to be asked is whether there are any clues to determining when the morphological changes *-o* → *-to* and *-o* → *-oto* occurred. In this respect our finding that -ta is overwhelmingly favored in the preterite plays a decisive role. An implication of this distributional imbalance is not very hard to understand. If the morphological influence from the primary active 3 sg. *-ti* and that from the secondary active 3 sg. *-t* were the same, the degree to which *-o* was replaced by *-to* would be no different between the present and the preterite. This is probably the case that happened in non-Anatolian languages like Greek as illustrated below.

primary active 3   sg. *-ti*   secondary active 3 sg. *-t*
             ↓   ↓
primary mediopassive 3 sg. *-or* → *-tor*   secondary mediopassive 3 sg. *-o* → *-to*
e.g. Gk. □□□□□'lies' (< *-to-i*)   e.g. Gk. ě□□□□'lay' (< *-to*)

In Hittite, on the other hand, the present active 3 sg. *-ti* became *-tsi* by an affrication rule that occurred in its prehistory[11]. The *-tsi* created by assibilation did not put any morphological pressure on the corresponding present mediopassive ending as illustrated below.

pres. active 3 sg. *-tsi* < *-ti*   pret. active 3 sg. *-t*
                ↓   ↓
pres. mediopassive 3 sg. *-a* → **-tsa*   pret. mediopassive 3 sg. *-a* → *-ta*

pres. mediopassive 3 sg. *-a* → *-ta* ⟵

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[10] Watkins (1969: 86) himself, in a passage where he equates his alleged *ešari* remodeled from *ešari* with Vedic *āste*, suggested late character of *-to* by stating that "das heth. Beispiel läßt es durchaus möglich erscheinen, daß all diese Formen spontane Parallelentwicklungen aus nach-idg. Zeit sind."

[11] I argued in Yoshida (1998) that affrication also occurred to lenited *-di*, but I will not consider this case here so as not to make our discussion unnecessarily complicated.

But the preterite active 3 sg. *-t*, which did not undergo the affrication, did have morphological influence on the corresponding preterite mediopassive ending. In fact, Hittite favored unlenited *t* rather than lenited *d* in this morphological change[12]. The *-ta* thus first created in the preterite 3 sg. later gradually replaced *-a* in the corresponding present 3 sg. This reconstructed prehistory would probably best account for the preponderance of *-ta* over *-a* in the Hittite preterite mediopassive. During later attested history of Hittite *-ta* also came to be attached to the original *-a* first in the preterite (pret. mediopassive 3 sg. *-a(ti)* → *-a-tta(ti)*) and then in the present (pres. mediopassive 3 sg. *-a(ri)* → *-a-tta(ri)*).

The results of our findings and analyses in this paper are summarized below. The morphological changes, *-a* → *-ta* and *-a* → *-atta*, are still operating during attested Hittite history. This fact, together with the nonexistence of *-atta* in Old Hittite and the original *a*-class status in imperatives, shows that 3 sg. mediopassive verbs in *-to* had not been created at the Proto-Indo-European stage. The fact that *-ta* is overwhelmingly favored by preterite mediopassives in Hittite leads us to assume that many *ta*-class mediopassives were created after the affrication. The morphological history of Hittite mediopassive verbs clarified in this paper shows that another archaic linguistic feature which the other branches lost is still retained in Hittite.

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[12] It is well known that word final stops became lenited in Proto-Anatolian; thus, *-t* > *-d* /V__#.

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